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ABSTRACT

The choice of languages in daily communication among members of East Javanese society is discussed, as illustrated in language choice in performances of "ludruk," the East Javanese folk play. Data are drawn from audiocassette ludruk recordings, which are seen as depicting contemporary East Javanese society. First, the ethnic makeup of the East Javanese population is described, and results of analysis of the recordings are presented. The analysis looked at the ethnic origins of the actors, the language styles and dialects spoken, and factors determining selection of language or dialect, including social status, age, gender, mood, education and sophistication level, and role and relationship of the interlocutors. Factors restricting code use, and patterns of code mixing and code switching, are also discussed. The codes used in the cassettes analyzed included Indonesian, Krama and Ngoko Javanese, and Madurese, with Ngoko Javanese used most, then Krama Javanese, Madurese, and Indonesian, in that descending order of frequency. Switching between the two Javanese dialects, often without intent, is common and creates amusing situations. These code choices are seen as reflecting the communicative code choices of the population as a whole. Contains 14 references and a sample ludruk dialogue. (MSE)

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THE COMMUNICATIVE CODE CHOICES IN LUDRUK PERFORMANCES

By

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INTRODUCTION

This paper studies the code choices in daily communications among members of East Javanese society with regard to the social and cultural factors which determine the choices. Such choices are essential because they mark social meanings which are to be indicated, sometimes implicitly but very often also explicitly in the communications among members of society. A given choice may or may not be shared by members of a group who happen to involve themselves in a speech situation. As a matter of fact, the population of East Java consists of various groups including different ethnic groups who each has its own norms and values which are appreciated and followed by members of the same group. As a member of East Javanese society, however, every individual, regardless of a group, subjects himself to the common norms and values established in society.

In short, this paper describes what code choices there are in East Java which are socially important; who use these choices, when and where and for what purposes these choices are used. The description also includes what choices are available to interlocutors of the same background and to interlocutors of different social and educational backgrounds. During the course of this paper, it will become clear that there are significant social factors to be considered in inter-group as well as intra-group communication.

According to the latest sensus (1990) the approximately 33 million population of East Java consists of Javanese, the greatest number, the Madurese and various ethnic groups originating from the outer islands who for several reasons have decided to live in East Java. Then there are also smaller groups of people who are descendants of Chinese, Arabs and other minority groups. The Javanese ethnic include those living in the mountain of Tengger who are believed to be the descendants of people of the old Javanese kingdom of Mojopahit who fled to this area, to avoid Islam in the early 16th century. In the regency of Banyuwangi, almost at the eastern tip of Java, and its neighborhood live the Osing Javanese with their typical Osing Javanese dialect and their typical culture, slightly different from that of the majority of Javanese group.

Instead of collecting data from these various groups, the writer of this paper has chosen a score of prerecorded audio-cassettes of 'Ludruk", the East Javanese folk play with East Javanese characteristics. These cassettes are available in particular stores in many cities in East Java. These ludruk performances have been chosen partly for practical purposes in comparison to the actual data collecting which is costly and time consuming, and partly because ludruk performances have depicted contemporary East Javanese social life, including the characteristic ways of life of the people and the communicative code choices in the daily life of East

Javanese society. Because of the limited time the writer failed to include the representations of the minority groups in the chosen cassettes, just because such cassettes were not available in the market by the time this paper was prepared. According to the writer's experience ludruk may perform a story which include a character of a Chinese descendent whose speech, in Indonesian or Javanese, is still very much influenced by the typical speech of this ethnic.

Most of the actors and actresses are East Javanese, a very limited number are Central Javanese, while some are Madurese. Basically, the language used in every ludruk performance is Javanese, particularly the basic level called Ngoko. In accordance with what is really happening in society, as to show respect to the addressee, a speaker in a ludruk may also use the polite level called Krama. The actors and actresses coming from central Java ordinarily use the Central Javanese dialect, as it happens in real life. These residents of East Java understand East Javanese dialect, but they are reluctant to speak it. Meanwhile, the Madurese actors and actresses speak Madurese and Javanese with a strong Madurese accent. The use of different codes are often manipulated in a ludruk performance because it always invites laughter from the part of the audience. The audience usually also laugh when a character, because of the slip of the tongue or on purpose makes a wrong code choice. All these kinds of code choices and the factors determining them will

be discussed in this paper.

Social Status

One of the most important factors which determine social and language behaviors in the daily interactions among members of East Javanese society is social status. Eventhough some people still regard ascribed social status important, the majority of East Javanese people consider the achieved social status as shown from the success in life of an individual, indicated by a great accumulation of wealth, a high rank or position in his career, and other indications of success in any walks of life, more important and therefore more respected than that inherited from one's parents. There are examples in the cassettes that indicate a certain respect given by an old friend to a person who has been successful in his career and became rich. In the cassette entitled 'Juragan roti sepet (Unkind bakery owner)' the show of respect is indicated by a different use of second personal pronoun. Formerly koen now becomes peno, while the rich friend maintains the old use of koen. Both friends still keep the close relationship indicated by the use of Ngoko Javanese level. In the same episode a young woman applying for a job uses the Krama level to the bakery owner while the latter chooses the Ngoko level which is in accordance with the rule in real life. A similar thing happens in "Baseman nyleweng (Unfaithful Baseman)" where Baseman's first wife, a rich

woman, speaks Ngoko to two young men who are applying far a job as a gardener and a driver. The latter two use Krama. Since she is talking to strangers, she mixes the Ngoko and the Krama. The Krama is used when she addresses directly to the strangers and the Ngoko is particularly used when talking about herself, her family and her wellbeing.

When carrying on his duty an official my use Indonesian to an unknown addressee. This is exemplified in "Dukun Ulo Entong (A shaman called Ula Entong)" where a security guard uses reciprocal Indonesian addressed to a young man in a dark place. When they find out that they are neighbors who know one another very well they codeswitch into Ngoko Javanese. The young man happens to be somebody who does not have a permanent job and therefore he considers his acquaintance to be higher in status than himself.

Age

Seniority in age also calls for respect indicated by the use of certain code and terms of address. In East Java children usually use Ngoko Javanese to their parents with the second personal pronoun sampeyan or peno, the former being a little bit more polite than the latter, while the parents ordinarily use Ngoko but with the second personal pronoun koen which is the least polite than the two above. This case is also exemplified in "Unfaithful Baseman" where the son uses peno and the daughter uses sampeyan.

In "Semanggi Surabaya (Clover salad of Surabaya)" a forman in a factory uses reciprocal Krama to the father of a factory worker. The forman is considered to be higher in status than the father of the worker, however, the father is an old man, and therefore deserves some respect. In the Krama level they are using they use reciprocal sampeyan with lots of Madya words, indicating that they belong to the working class people. The presence of Madya words also indicate that they are using the Mid-level between Basic (Ngoko) and Polite (Krama) levels.

Sex

Ordinarily when people are talking to an addressee of a different sex there is a feeling of uncomfortableness, insecurity or limitedness in some way or another. In "Kartolo dadi makelar losmen (Kartolo, a tourist's guide)", the guide uses Krama to indicate this uncomfortableness when talking to a female tourist. The tourist, having the same feeling also uses Krama, but, judging herself to be a bit higher in status, often code switch in the Ngoko level, particularly when she is talking about herself, the business she is carrying on and the like. To a male new acquaintance the same guide uses Ngoko almost right away when they meet for the first time. The guide, later, introduces an older male tourist to the female tourist in Krama. Both tourists use Krama in the introduction, however, he codeswitches into

Indonesian to conceal his insecurity feeling. The woman, however, feels funny to codeswitch into Indonesian and suggests him to continue the conversation in Krama. Later, when they become more familiar they codeswitch again in Ngoko with reciprocal sampeyan "the Krama you" to show equal respect.

In the episode "The hunter", Kartolo the hunter greets an unfamiliar village woman in Krama. the young woman answer reciprocally in Krama. Later, when they become good friends and their relationship become much closer, when they feel free from uncomfortableness and inhibition, they change the Krama into Ngoko.

Mood

A certain state of mind or feeling is often indicated by a certain code, while another feeling is shown by a different use of code. In East Java people often think aloud or talk to themselves. When this happens one ordinarily uses the code he knows best, the Javanese uses Ngoko Javanese, the Madurese uses basic level of Madurese, the Chinese descendant uses the variety of Indonesian common for members of this group. In ludruk performances talking to oneself is often elaborated into a monologue which usually begins an episode, or a new part of an episode. In "Kartolo the hunter" for instance, a character opens the story with a monologue in Ngoko, in "Kartolo the tourist guide" Ani a married business woman

starts a new part of an episode also in Ngoko, while Suryadewi, a young female Madurese vendor starts an episode in basic level Madurese.

When people are angry they ordinarily also use their mother tongue particularly the basic level, if any, containing strong emotional words and quite often mingled with swear words, especially the men. This happens with Ani and Baseman in Ngoko in "Kartolo the hunter", and between Singabrata and Singabubrah in "The silat master with a violet robe". In "Lara Pangkon the bride" Cukup and Julig who represent the bride and the bridegroom communicate in Krama. Later when they disagree and end their disagreement in a fight they codeswitch into Ngoko.

Strong interest, attractedness or love sometimes also calls for a certain code. In "Kartolo the tourist's guide" for instance Metty, a young widow feels attracted to the guide. Her attractedness becomes more intense when she finds out that the guide is actually Kartolo the contemporary ludruk star. Her surprise mixed with happiness and intense feeling of attractedness make her codemix the Krama she previously uses when talking to the guide with Ngoko Javanese. This codemixing is marked with Ngoko words when she describes her feelings, the person she loves and about herself. To communicate directly to the guide, however, she keeps using the Krama. This similar phenomenon also occurs in "Unfaithful Baseman". Isye his first wife also codemixes the

Krama with Ngoko when talking to a somewhat handsome young new employee of hers. The difference with the previous example, however, lies in the way she uses the Ngoko in that she once in a while really codeswitches into Ngoko when talking to him because she realized that she is higher in status than the employee. This stage elaboration really reflects what is happening in real life.

Education and sophistication

Educated people in various encounters often use Indonesian to one another. The use of Javanese in ludruk is particularly because ludruk is especially meant for the ordinary people who mostly speak Javanese. The actors and actresses, however, also realize the importance of Indonesian nowadays, and therefore include this code when the condition and situation calls for it. Indonesian in ludruk performances is often used to show an effect of good education and sophistication. Very often, however, Indonesian is used for boasting which of course invites laughters from the part of the audience. Among Javanese and Madurese sophistication and success in education may be reflected in the use of good Krama or polite level with lots of honorific terms.

In "Married to a fairy" for instance, when the bride who is also the beautiful fairy talks to her parents-in-law in beautiful Krama with honorific terms the parents-in-law praise her very highly. When asked about her identity,

however, she tells them about her parents and the short history of the city where her father originally comes from in proper Indonesian. The parents-in-law once again admire her of her wide knowledge and her beautiful language, which according to them must be the result of great success in her education.

In "Kartolo the tourist's guide" the young widow codeswitches into Indonesian from reciprocal Krama when talking to the hotel manager and the bellboy about her knowledge of various kinds of pastries and drinks in a certain hotel. The addressees believe her and admire silently of her knowledge. On the other hand when a gardener who does not speak Indonesian in "A ceremony to put a baby down on the ground for the first time" greets his boss in Indonesian invites great laughters from the audience and a funny comment from the boss. In "Unfaithful Baseman" two friends are talking about their past experience in Ngoko. When one of them changes the subject concerning ecology, they codeswitch into Indonesian. Such a subject is considered sophisticated and deserves serious consideration which is indicated by the use of the formal language, i.e. Indonesian.

Among friends Indonesian words, phrases and utterances as well are commonly used which draw attention of the participants involved in the interaction. Through the way these language forms are put forward the participants know quite well whether they are meant for a joke or a

sophisticated purposes. In both cases the speaker is always complimented as being learned, well informed of the latest knowledge and the like, with a slight different tone, because one is meant to be a real compliment, while the other is meant for a joke.

Role and relationship

In East Javanese society, as in other societies, people are aware of their position in society in general and also in a social interaction. Proper behaviors including linguistic are always made to comply with the rules concerning the roles and relationships of every participants in an interaction. Physical appearance of an individual and later also his choice of language are good enough for other people to judge his position in society in general and his role relationship related to other individuals in a social interaction. There are ample examples in the cassettes which reflects these. In "Unfaithful Baseman" for instance, a businessman's wife reminds his driver to use the proper term of address towards the businessman. The driver has used Cak "brother" Baseman and is corrected into Pak "Mister" Baseman. In the same episode, later, the businessman tells the driver to change his clothes appropriately as he is the driver of an important and well-to-do businessman. In "A ceremony to put baby down on the ground for the first time" a friend is commenting on the clothings worn by a successful person. The complimented

person approves of all the comments because he is clad in accordance with the unwritten societal rules. In the same episode, the son of a well-to-do businessman wear simple clothings because he prefers to associate himself with his friends belonging to the common people and talks in the code common to his friends.

In the previous examples it has been implied that a certain role dictates the use of a certain code. And when the role and relationship change, the code also changes. In "Kentrung (A story teller accompanied by some gamelan players)" the story teller asks a new acquaintance to codeswitch into Ngcko from Krama, because they both will be working closely together very soon. In "Unfaithful Baseman" new acquaintances, a young man and a young woman talks in Krama, but when they become a boy friend and a girl friend they talk in Ngoko. In "Kartolo the tourist's guide" a young woman is addressed in Indonesian because according to the addressor she is dressed like a school teacher. She, however, rejects and asks him to look at her more closely so that he is able to notice the differences. She says all this in Krama because they are new acquaintances who just met.

The actors and actresses in these ludruk performances are colleagues and friends in their daily life. They, therefore often forget and confuse their roles on stage and in real life. Sometimes they purposely confuse the two roles to invite laughters. In "Kartolo the tourist's guide" for

instance, the guide reminds a character humorously that on stage the reminded character is a driver not the boss. The reminded character often uses Ngoko to the boss, but he always changes into Krama when he is aware of his role on stage.

Ordinarily people in East Java use Indonesian to address an unfamiliar person and change into Javanese when they find out that they are Javanese. This similar phenomenon also happens with the other ethnic groups. When they find out that they are of different ethnic they continue using Indonesian unless one of them understands and speaks the language of the other.

Restricted use of a code

Indonesian, as stated above, is widely used in formal encounters, as in the offices and at schools. It is also used among participants in an interaction of different ethnic groups. Indonesian is also used in a certain setting such a sermon in churches, mosques and temples, except when the congregation consists of one particular ethnic group, such as in a Batak church, a Javanese church and in many mosques in the villages in Java. When the congregation is exclusively chinese descendants, however, formal Indonesian is used instead of the variety of Indonesian commonly used by descendants of chinese. This non-standard variety is used in informal situations especially at home. Indonesian is also

use more frequently in the cities, as between strangers of the same ethnic group. In a rural area they may start with Javanese or Madurese, or when they start with Indonesian they immediately switch into the language of their mother tongue, i.e. Javanese for the Javanese ethnic and Madurese for the Madurese. As exemplified in the discussion above, Indonesian is also the language of the educated people and of sophisticated matters.

Many individuals prefer to use Indonesian eventhough when the perfect time to use Javanese or Madurese has come. This happens particularly when the speakers feels insecure in the mastery of the mother tongue. An older interlocutor has switched into Indonesian, for instance, but the younger interlocutor keeps using Indonesian because he feels that he does not speak Krama, the expected code, very well. When this happens they may continue using different codes. In many cases, however, the older person switches back into Indonesian so that they may continue without any feeling of insecurity and uncomfortableness. This situation, however, does not happen in the selected ludruk performances because the actors and actresses speak their mother tongue well.

Indonesian is not very frequently used in the selected ludruk performances because they are meant for the common people who are mostly Javanese. However, when the situation on stage calls for the use of Indonesian this language is not avoided, as exemplified in the discussions above, for

instance when two characters are talking about ecology, or when a character takes mistakenly another character as being a school teacher, and so forth. The producers of the selected performances seem purposely choose informal situations where Javanese or Madurese is the common code and Indonesian is only sparsely employed. The available ludruk performances, therefore still in one way or another, represent the biggest number of people in East Java.

So far Madurese has never been represented in the examples. As a matter of fact, Madurese is the language of the Madurese people and those who have constant contacts with them. In the available cassettes, however, only some of the actors and actresses understand and speak Madurese. In "Kentrung (a story teller accompanied by some gamelan players)" for instance, the episode starts with a Madurese character who, in real life is also a Madurese. She sings and speaks both in Madurese and Javanese. The situation on stage becomes hilarious when a Javanese stranger addresses her in faulty Madurese. She keeps using Madurese while the Javanese character switches back and forth between Javanese and faulty Madurese. The audience are laughing at the misunderstanding created by the limited mastery of Madurese on the part of the Javanese. In this scene there is also another Javanese character who does not understand Madurese at all. When he does not understand what the Madurese character speaks he always asks his Javanese friend to interpret, while the

latter always makes mistakes in the interpretation. The Madurese woman then switches into Javanese with a strong Madurese accent. The whole episode is full of misunderstanding, sometimes created purposely to invite laughters from the audience.

In general the Madurese language is constructed similarly with Javanese in that there is also the basic level and the polite level, enrich with honorific terms to show respect. In the episodes only basic level is used. The Madurese characters in the available cassettes speak Javanese and Indonesian. They speak Madurese only when they talk to themselves, and to addressees who understand the language. When the addressees do not understand the language perfectly they switch into Javanese. The use of Indonesian by these Madurese is more or less similar in many ways as used by the native Javanese speakers. In "Marlena suffers from heavy stress" for instance, the Madurese woman character uses Indonesian when she quotes a moral teaching, or when she wants to indicate that she has a certain educational background. She switches back to Madurese when she is angry.

When the Madurese character does not speak other languages he may use Madurese only. In "The haunted house" for instance, a Madurese husband speaks almost constantly in Madurese and his wife translates it into Javanese when a Javanese addressee needs some explanation. In the same episode there is a situation where the wife is absent. In

this case the Madurese speak Madurese and the Javanese speak Javanese. Because each of them has a very limited knowledge of the code used by the person spoken to, they speak slowly and each of them has to use a synonym when the person spoken to does not understand a certain word. Very often they have to rephrase an utterance with the hope that they convey their messages well. In real life this often happens in the market place where Madurese vendors speaks Madurese while their Javanese customers speak Javanese to them. Fortunately there are lots of similar lexical items found in both languages, though very often with different pronunciations, conveying similar meanings. In addition, there are lots of Madurese words which are similar in meanings and forms with certain Indonesian words. With constant daily contacts therefore, many Madurese communities living among Javanese communities and vice versa, use both languages. The mother tongue is used perfectly while the second language is often spoken with limitations and always with the accent of the mother tongue. It is these limitations and misunderstandings which are manipulated in ludruk performances to create humorous effects.

Codemixing and codeswitching

In real daily life in East Java members of East Javanese society may communicate with one another in different codes at a certain time. A taxi driver and his customer for

instance, may start with Indonesian, as is usually happens. The customer, a Madurese, learning that the driver's behaviors including the verbal one are typically Madurese, may immediately switches into Madurese while the driver switches into the polite level of Madurese. The initiative, however, almost always comes from the customer, the supposedly higher social status participant. When the driver feels insecure in using the polite level for one reason on another, however, he may continue using Indonesian. Learning the uncomfortableness of the driver the customer may switche back into Indonesian or continue using Madurese, while probably commenting on the tendency of the younger generation of using the basic level only and neglecting the polite one. Such a question or comment is made only when the customer is sure that the driver is a Madurese by the correct and coherent answers he has made eventhough they are put forward in Indonesian, the language of business of the whole Indonesian. A similar phenomenon may happen among Javanese participants involving in a social interaction. The higher status person switches into Ngoko or plain Krama level of Javanese from Indonesian while the lower status person uses Krama with honorific terms if he is able to, or continues in Indonesian. Among Chinese descendants a similar phenomenon might happen also, but the participants have to be more careful, such as they are sure that the person spoken to is a Chinese descendant who is resident of East Java. Such a

caution has to be taken because the variety of Indonesian common to Chinese descendants of East Java may not be well understood by Chinese descendants of other areas. Descendants of Chinese in West Java for instance, mostly speak good Sundanese, the indigenous language of the people, in addition to Indonesian, while Chinese descendants of Central Java mostly speak Central Javanese dialect pretty well in addition to Indonesian.

In ludruk performances both codemixing and codeswitching are well represented. In "Unfaithful Baseman" for instance, a Javanese young man uses reciprocal Krama when talking to a Javanese young woman. To make the relationship closer and the conversation more interesting and uninhibited the young man invites the young woman to codeswitch into Ngoko. She agrees the idea and since then they communicate in Ngoko. In "Finding one's match" a Madurese young woman who is able to speak Javanese well addresses a Javanese young man in Krama with Madurese accent. Noticing the addressor is a Madurese the addressee answers in Krama with lots of Madurese words. The Madurese woman is a bit surprised and codemixes in Madurese. After finishing some utterances in Madurese she continues addressing him in Krama. The young man, during the conversation, often codeswitches into Ngoko, particularly when he describes himself and gives comments on certain things. The young woman, when expressing her happiness, giving comments and describing something, thus as if talking

to herself she codemixes the Krama with Madurese. Later when they find out that they happen to be of the some profession, i.e. artists in some way or another they codeswitch into Ngoko. Since then they communicate in Ngoko comfortably.

In the example above there are ample instances in which while communicating in Krama a character my codeswitch into Ngoko, especially when the character is talking to oneself or when one is giving comments or ideas in which essentially one is actually talking to oneself. Such a thing happens in "Unfaithful Baseman" where a housewife while talking in Krama to a new acquaintance, when she is commenting on the wages of certain workers nowadays, or when talking about family problems, which in a way is more addressed to herself rather than to other participants in the conversation codeswitches into Ngoko. That way she has just codeswitched from Krama to Ngoko. Later when she talks directly to the new acquaintance she used reciprocal Krama again. Quite some time later, however, when the new acquaintance agrees to work for her, she codeswitches into permanent Ngoko. While the new acquaintance remains to use the Krama, the expected code directed to his superior. In "Unfaithful Baseman" two friends are chatting and joking in Ngoko, but when one of them asks the other about how to preserve the fertility of a piece of land the other thinks that it is meant for another joke. The speaker, however, is serious about his question, therefore he codeswitches his speech into Indonesian, the language of

seriousness and sophistication, and explains how to preserve fertility himself. The other person listens and gives some comments in Indonesian. When they finish the explanation, however, they switch back into Ngoko the expected code among Javanese to indicate a close relationship.

When people of different ethnicities with each having a different code to use among members of the same group get constant contacts with one another, these people become conscious of the different codes and their different shades of meanings when they are used in a social interaction. Indonesian for instance is commonly used in formal situation while Madurese and Javanese are used informally in many places outside the offices. When a Javanese uses a Madurese to a Madurese addressee the latter feels honored and takes the hint as friendly gesture, especially when the Javanese speaks good Madurese. In a mixed community as above, therefore, individuals learn the language of the other group, sometimes with a great success but very often master the other language passively, or minimally just enough to get along in simple conversations. When an individual masters some codes pretty well he might codeswitch consciously or unconsciously according to the factors that call for any of them. In an informal situation when nothing makes him uncomfortable, such as when he is talking to a good friend in a quite relaxed way such an individual may start with one code then in the middle of his speech he uses a phrase a

clause or some lexical items belonging to another code, then later he finishes the utterance the same code that he has started before. In the available ludruk performances such a phenomenon is exemplified in "Finding one's match" where a Madurese young woman who are able to speak Indonesian and Javanese pretty well on top of her Madurese mother tongue, meets a Javanese young man for the first time. In real life, however, they are colleagues who know another very well. On stage they have to play an interesting part where two young people of different sexes meet accidentally, attracted to one another and fall in love. On the scene the woman is surprised by a sudden presence of a good looking young man. She addressees him in Krama Javanese. Noticing the Madurese accent he answers in Krama but using a Madurese term of address indicating familiarity and closeness. His way of regarding her attracts her very much and makes her feels uninhibited and free to communicate with him. She uses Madurese expressions and also Ngoko utterances when she gives comments about him and about her feelings toward him directed to the audience and herself. The young man, on the other hand, uses only Ngoko to convey similar messages. Later she asks his name in Madurese which is not quite understood by him and asks her to translate it into Indonesian. She agrees and since then she often codeswitches freely from Krama to Ngoko, then to Indonesian and Madurese, probably to indicate her mixed feelings. When she asks him what his name is he

answers jokingly "Rossi Itali". She laughs because she knows quite well that he is pulling her leg, and expresses her disbelief in a codemixed utterance consisting of Indonesian mixed with Ngoko words. When he reveals his real name she is exited and happy because he happens to be a ludruk star who has lots of fans including herself. She immediately invites him to use Ngoko, the code of closeness and friendliness among Javanese and those who understand Javanese very well. When she reveals that secret to him she again expresses it in a codemixed utterance consisting of Ngoko Javanese mixed with Indonesian words at the end. Later she also codamixes between Ngoko and Madurese. In "Kartolo the tourist guide" the guide, a Javanese young man, meets a tourist, a Javanese young woman. They basically use Krama in the dialogue, the expected language for strangers. Each of them, however, switches into Ngoko when they give comments and puts forward one's own idea as if talking to oneself. When each of then talks directly to the addressee Krama is used again. When giving comments the guide also codemixes his expressions between Indonesian and Ngoko Javanese. Later the tourist does almost the same thing.

Conclusion

The codes found in the available cassettes include Indonesian, Krama and Ngoko Javanese, and Madurese. Javanese is the language used the most, particularly because these ludruk performances are meant for the common people of East

Java which consists of mostly Javanese. Madurese is also well represented in the cassettes because there are a small number of Madurese actors and actresses involved in the performances.

Ngoko Javanese is the most used code because the episodes mostly concern common events involving friends, acquaintances, neighbors and members of families who in reality also use Ngoko most of the time. Plain Krama is the next frequently used code because it is the code commonly used to show little respect to people of slightly higher in status, older in age and also to strangers and new acquaintances. Krama with honorific terms indicating high respect which is commonly used by well educated people is not frequently found because the scenes in the episodes do not frequently call for it. A good example for it takes place when a well educated bride-will-be is talking to her prospected parents-in-law. One of the reasons for not being used even in reality is that Krama with honorific terms symbolizes distant and formality as well. While people of East Java in general are more informal and more open in nature compared to Javanese of Central Java. Another reason is that Javanese families use mostly Ngoko at home, even between children and parents, so that Krama and especially Krama with honorifics are not inculcated in the average Javanese homes/in East Java.

Coming next in the order of frequently used code is

Madurese. The less frequent use of this code on stage represents proportionately its use in East Javanese society on the average, particularly the areas outside the Madurese heavily populated areas. In the episodes only one character is supposed to know very little Javanese. In other episodes the Madurese speak also Indonesian and Javanese well. The inclusion of this code is felt as an important thing by the producers. Mainly because most of the stories can be regarded as comedies where funny and almost silly things dominate every scene. Among the audience, mostly Javanese, the Madurese accent can easily serve this purpose.

Indonesian is the least represented code in the whole collection, mainly because there is hardly any scene that calls for the dominant use of this code. The situational use of Indonesian in one of the scenes happens when a security guard addresses a young couple in a poorly lit place. However, when they look each other more closely they switch almost immediately into Ngoko because they happen to be neighbors. Indonesian in the episodes is found frequently in metaphorical codeswitching to indicate pride and sophistication.

Codeswitching between Krama and Ngoko and vice versa are very frequently found in the episodes, mainly because the characters are colleagues and friends in their daily life. They often forget their exact part in the scenes and therefore often misuse the expected code. To them, and also

to the audience this error is found interesting because it may create funny things which are well excepted primarily by the audience.

The nature of the actors and actresses as well as the choices of the stories enable many of them codemixe their utterances in many occasions.

In conclusion ludruk performances reflect the communicative code choices of East Javanese people, mainly the common people.

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APPENDIX 1

An example of dialogue taken from "Finding one's match", M (Marlena) a Madurese young woman and K (Kartolo) a Javanese young man.

M. Aja lok-melok sampiyan gak kenal-kenal. (in Krama)
"Don't interfere, you don't know me."

K. Mboten, Buk. "No, Sister." (in Krama)

M. Lho sampiyan wong Jawa? "Are you Javanese" (in Krama)

M. Lho ndelok modele wis ketara, Dik. 'You can be sure from the look, you know.' (in Ngoko)

K. Binggelan, seweke nggak athik kendhit, ... 'Wearing big anklets, the batique without a belt, ...' (in Ngoko)

M. Iya dik, enak, dik 'Sure. it's comfortable, you know.' (N)

K. Klambine cingkrang. 'Wearing too short a blouse.' (N)

M. Ngurangi bahan, Kak. 'That way you don't need much material, you now, Brother?' (N)

K. O, ngoten a? 'Is that so?' (K)

M. Klambine iki cingkrang, cukup setengah meter, seweke semeter, wis gak athik biaya keh-akeh, dik. 'A Short blouse, needs half a meter only, the sarong needs a meter.' (N)

K. Iki suwe-suwe mblakrak iki. Klambine lorek kaya tekek. 'The longer this conversation becomes the sillier. The blouse is striped like that of a gecko.' (N)

M. Aduh ja ngono peno ya dik ya? 'Don't say so, brother.' (N)

M. E, Mas sampiyan-sik lancing nggih? 'Are you still single, brother? (N. Underlined Madurese)

K. Iki ngomong apa iki. 'I don't know what she is saying.' (N)

M. Kik lancing. Mun ngocak Madura, Been kik lancing, dik?. 'Still single. In Madurese we say: "Are you still single?", you know.' (In Madurese)

K. Nek cara Jawane napa? 'What does it mean in Javanese?' (K)

M. Niku kik jaka, ngoten lho. 'Unmarried, you know.' (K)

K. Asmane sinten? 'What's your name?' (K)

M. O, kalau bahasa Indonesia, namanya siapa? 'In Indonesian, "What's your name?".' (In Indonesian)

K. Sampeyan wong Jawa, aku wis tahu weruh. 'You're Javanese. I've seen you once.' (K, underlined Ngoko)

M. Lho nek saya ini pur campur dik. 'With me, you know, I can speak several languages.' (Ind., underlined Javanese)

M. Nami sampiyan sinten se? 'What's your name?' (K)

K. Nami kula, Rossi Itali. 'My name is Rossi Itali." (K)

M. Waduh, Rossi Itali. Gak masuk akal, wonge gepeng ngono. 'Wow, Rossi Itali, imposible, you know, too skinny (K) Rossi Itali itu orangnya, aduh dempal, gede, diukur, ngono.
Rossi Itali, the guy is tall and big, you know.' (ind. underlined Ngoko)

K. Mboten, Kartolo. 'No, Kartolo.' (K)

M. Lho peno Kartolo iku, aduh, kak. 'So you are Kartolo.' (N)

M. Kula ngeten nggih. Wis nggak basa mari. It's like this. Let's not use Krama any more.' (K, the underlined N)

K. Wis gak usah wis pada loreke. 'Let's not. We are in the same boat.' (N)